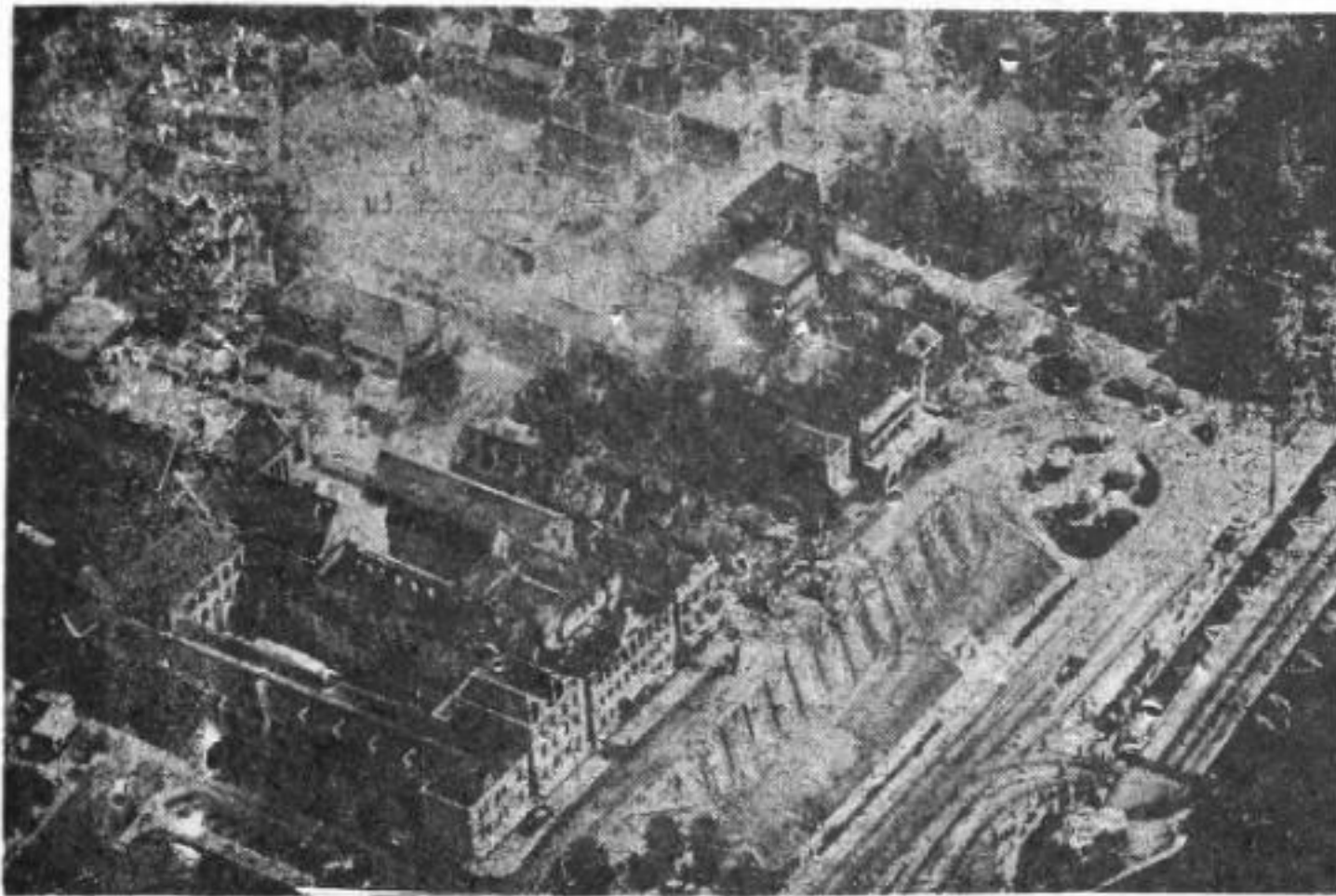


ABENG

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"We Want Our People to Think for Themselves."
MARCUS GARVEY



Smoke Lingers Over Guttled Buildings in Willemstad, Curacao
... rioting oil refinery workers did \$20 million in damage in the city

BONGO NEVILLE AND HIS YARD

A thirty-day house-eviction notice has been served on the mother of Bongo Neville Howell, proprietor of a beer-joint in front of Clock Centre, Trench Town. Their place has been the only one selected in the area, where his family has been living for twenty-two years.

When the officer from the Housing Dept. was asked whether an alternative arrangement was being made for the family, the reply was that, in no way could establishing the beer-joint elsewhere be entertained and the family may be able to get accommodation in Boys' Town.

Coming after the police raids, false arrests and imprisonments of Bongo Neville, this housing eviction marks another stage in the victimization of this youth and his family. They now intend killing his means of earning a bread and it is the Housing Dept. who have now taken over where the police failed.

This political victimization lies in the fact that this youth does not support either the police or the politicians and discourages other youths who may be approached by these men for assistance to oppress black people in that area.

It is clear that it is not only the police who have to be opposed but this eviction notice from the Housing Dept.



MORE ABENG MORE HELP!

Ever since Abeng started some months ago, our readers have been urging us to expand the paper. It is heartening that despite our inability to do so, the support for Abeng has been increasing weekly. However, we now feel that if Abeng is to improve and satisfy the demands being made by its readers, it is vital that it should move up in size as soon as possible.

The only way Abeng can do this is with the support of its readers. We have therefore launched a fund-raising drive in which everyone can make a contribution. We are asking all our supporters for individual donations and also to organise towards such and fund-raising efforts in their own areas.

CURACAO!

EDITORIAL NOTE:

Curacao is a small island lying inland off the coast of Venezuela. It has a population of 127,000, 90 per cent of whom are black. The island is well known for its separation from Africa and its economic and social development is a direct result of the policies of the white power and the domination of the black leaders in the past who have oppressed it.

Demonstrations began Thursday night and the police fired into the air after Black workers threatened whites. Saturday another demonstration was held and witnesses said that the mob had become unruly after policemen shot a labour leader.

Three hundred Dutch marines, specially trained in riot control, were sent from Holland to Curacao after the weekend violence in which 2 people were killed and 100 injured.

Two United States warships also steamed to the island. The Berry, a destroyer, and the Springfield, a light cruiser, left St. Thomas, in the American Virgin Islands, prepared to evacuate about 1,100 American residents and tourists.

the police and the marines.

Other witnesses accused the police of reacting too precipitately to the demonstration saying that it had been peaceful until the police began shooting.

A curfew had to be imposed and the Government said that 196 people were arrested during the violence and 50 buildings were destroyed, including two hotels.

Troops patrolling the streets were given orders to shoot to kill all looters.

Latest reports are that workers are still on strike.

POLICE COURSE AT U. W. I.

A Police course which started on May 26 and will last until June 21, is now being held at the Trade Union Institute, UWI, and has so far been attended by over thirty police officers and inspectors from different parts of the island. It is being conducted at the University in association with the British Police Training Mission and the Dept. of Extra-Mural Studies.

Alongside lectures on Jamaican history, politics and social structure, a great deal of time is spent on subjects of immediate interest to the police-command. There is the viewing of films like "High Treason" and "Persona Non Grata". On lecture-discussion scheduled for the first week was on "Security Threats to Jamaica". The longest session lasting for an entire day during the third week, is that on the "Use of Tear Smoke and the Mobile Reserve" to be led off by Mr. O.H.P. Stephenson, MBE. Another lecture by Mr. O.F. Bernard, Assistant Commissioner deals with "Police Action and Law in Relation to Strikes". Another subject to be discussed is "Military Aide to a Civil Power".

SUGAR WORKERS DEMAND JUSTICE

Working and living under the present state of oppression and disunity, the immediate case of sugar workers is neither for nor against capitalist mechanization.

Mechanization was introduced by the foreign white capitalists because they found out that the parliamentary two-party two-union system has lost control over sugar workers and strikes are affecting their drive for maximum profits. The agreements concerning mechanization have only been to try and please the individual sugar worker who has become redundant, while keeping things at the same starvation wages of 6/- to 15/- a day for the thousands of other sugar workers who must continue to work in the industry.

The WISCO white men say that mechanization will benefit the entire industry. How is it then that no agreements are made with the parliamentary two-party unions who represent sugar workers for an immediate wage increase to sugar workers who must continue to work? Are sugar workers who must continue to work in the industry less important than those redundant from the industry?

The bad roads, no water, no land, no electricity, no technical training, no real economic activity of the peasants in the villages, provide no good investment opportunities

for sugar workers with redundant benefits; and these are the so-called investment opportunities, for it is expected that redundant sugar workers should remain with their families and invest in the areas where they live. These conditions may very well bankrupt their efforts and drive them back to a 15/- a day work gang. For has not this been the plight of small business people, followed by the church and state appeals that the unemployed should go back to the land as it is — in particular the sugar estates?

What are the conditions the parliamentary two-party two-union provide for foreign capitalist investment? Isn't it low wages, no strike contracts, the best lands, the concessions, mechanization and better roads? And haven't these conditions been kept secured by police protection and lies told to the working class?

Oh no, the case of sugar workers is not just to try out their hand at petty capitalist investment or beg the white man for a little more bonus. Ours is a case for social justice pending settlement for all workers ever since the black man was captured from Africa to produce sugar in the West Indies for white foreign economic power.

Apart from the general social degradation of the slave plantation society that still is the life of peasant farmers and agricultural workers, the 10/- per day paid to thousands of sugar workers is comparatively less than the two meals

per day that sugar slaves received from the slave society over 100 years ago.

In the Belye and other areas of Westmoreland and Hanover cane farmers send trucks around and seduce youths of 12 years and older to work on their farms for 6/- per day. Instead of offering their organizational services to a working programme with sugar workers to try to resolve the problem of more benefits from the sugar industry for the Jamaican people, the All-Island Cane Farmers Association of these half-a-men have been providing strike breaking cane supplies to the estate factories and preventing the use of land for other food crops.

The Sugar Manufacturers' Association, the All-Island Cane Farmers Association and the B.I.T.U./N.W.U. two-party unions put together are not as productive as sugar workers to the industry. Yet they are organized and it is through these organizations that-deals are cooked up against sugar workers.

Sugar workers will have to match their productive importance with organizational importance. The power to strike, matched with the power to settle the strike; to make demands for land and social justice equal to the labour they have contributed since 1834. They must organize now and establish their bargaining power and unity through workers Councils in the areas where they work and live.

THE BLACK PANTHERS

CULTURE AND LIBERATION

HUEY P. NEWTON



"The racist dog policemen must withdraw immediately from our communities, cease their wanton murder and brutality and torture of black people, or face the wrath of the armed people." - Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defence of the Black Panther Party for Self Defence.

In September 1968, a US jury composed mostly of middle-class, middle-aged whites, who are subject daily to all kinds of social and political pressures, declared Huey P. Newton, founder and leader of the Black Panther Party and its present Minister of Defense, guilty of "voluntary manslaughter" in the death of an Oakland policeman.

On September 26, the day before being given a 2 to 15 years' sentence in the state penitentiary (which means 15 years for a political prisoner like him), Huey spoke at length on some of the problems now facing both his Party and the black liberation movement, and its future. We are publishing here a substantial part of his exposition.

The questions discussed by Newton (the economic, political, and cultural aspects of the Afro-American struggle; the liberation of cultural minorities; the dialectic integration of nationalism and internationalism) give us a solid basis in facts for a correct interpretation of the struggle and the objectives of the Black Panther Party.

WE REALIZE that the fight is on three levels. We're fighting a battle to become politically free, economically free, and culturally free from exploitation and racism. In order to do this we're going to have to develop an economic program to finance our cultural institutions.

When I speak of cultural institutions I'm not merely speaking of theory, I'm speaking of all of the agencies: our government agencies, such as municipal and state agencies, such as the school system, such as developing a publishing house so that we can interpret the unique world perspective or view that blacks have. Because one of the main things that the oppressors use in exploiting us culturally is to say "You don't have a culture." This actually has confused many blacks because our culture is suppressed; it's suppressed because there's no avenue in which we can express it. In other words, a culture is really expressed through institutions that the people are in control of; these institutions reflect the cultural heritage and they can display it to the world. The white racists have exploited us culturally, denied our having a culture and at the same time stolen our artistic development and our general cultural make-up for profit.

We can end this by seizing control of the institutions of our community, politically developing our leadership so that they can administer those institutions. That's all political leaders are — they only implement people's desires and handle the wealth that the people earn by the sweat of their labor. Our Party, at the vanguard of the people, is the administrator. We will administer the institutions so that we are the political body.

And next we're going to have to seize control of the economic institutions. We realize we can't defeat capitalism by doing this, but what we can do is to get a certain amount of autonomy, autonomy in the sense that we can have a certain amount of money so that we can use it for long-term revolutionary goals. One of these is to revolutionize the minds of the people. To do this we have to have a certain amount of capital, a certain amount of money to put into theaters, to put into books, publishing houses, so that we can cause new attitudes to be established among our people, so we can prepare them for revolution. We must prepare them subjectively, because objectively of course all conditions exist now for revolution. But subjectively the people have not exhausted all the peaceful means which are necessary to exhaust.

But it's right on the edge of this. The people are rapidly realizing that the only way to liberation is armed resistance. We're going to carry on our fight, adapt our revolution to the American reality that exists. And while we fight we'll negotiate; we'll follow the line of the Vietnamese people: gain what ground we can peacefully, but keep fighting at the same time to improve our position at the

conference table. We expect uprisings and rebellions throughout the black colony periodically until it will come to a head, and we will have the final victory.

But while we're doing this, we'll propagandize so that we can get solidarity on an international level and also gain friends here in the mother country, who are necessary to help transform this government into a socialist system.

When I speak of this economic development it has to be in a cooperative fashion, but not the traditional kind of co-ops that had no really political overtones. We want a co-op or an economic system to take a stand and say that this is what our people want, that we will put the money into services, and for free education for the people and also use it to gain the necessary tools for liberation.

We would do this instead of having it strictly as an offspring of capitalism, instead of a co-op where the people buy shares and get monetary returns without any real development politically.

In other words, the economic system that we would develop would be financing the people's liberation. We're going to do this, we must do it. This will be done across the nation. By this means we'll be able to express our culture. We'll also encourage all other people in the country, especially the colored people who are oppressed, such as the Indians and the Mexican people who are strictly oppressed politically, economically, and culturally. They too need encouragement; we'll encourage them, as they're fighting now, we'll aid them in their struggle for control of their specific communities. This of course will not give us our final victory, but this will weld us into a sharp fighting force.

Also it will be, in the American sense, somewhat liberated territory if we can get a community where the people's minds have been revolutionized and they are ready. Then the community will be a haven for the rebel army. (It's not now; the community's not educated.) So it will be our type of liberated territory as other colonized peoples and revolutionaries try to get liberated territory. They even develop new economic programs for their territory. They know that economic programs will not defeat the dictatorship and the imperialists, but at least they can move, they can have finances for food to feed the rebel army and to get certain tools. We'll be doing the same thing.

This is not saying that we won't be fighting. We don't believe that we can make an economic transition from capitalism to socialism or even set up a socialistic community in a capitalistic state. All we can do is try to harness some of the funds and wipe out the middle class as far as leadership is concerned. The middle class has the time to really develop a leadership which could uplift the masses. But they chose not to do it because of a faulty analysis, a fallacious analysis of the American scene, and also because of the material incentive and because of the lesser amount of oppression they've always gotten.

Now what we need is a revolutionary party with an economic, political, and cultural program. After we get many cultural national minorities in the country free as far as liberated territory goes, this will progress on. I'd like to see each community control its local economic situation. After we seize the control of the national enterprises and socialize them we will put representatives to administer the industry, to pour money into the various cultural communities, into the co-ops of the cultural communities for the benefit of the people in those communities.



NEW IMPERIALIST POLICY FOR REGION



"Intervention must remain an ever-present possibility." Picture shows crowd in the April Revolution in our sister-country Dominican Republic, four years ago. The Revolution united blue and white collar workers, under the slogan: "YANKEES GET OUT."

A Confidential Report on the Caribbean, which urges a comprehensive political military and economic policy for the Caribbean, is now undergoing review in the Departments of State and Defense, reports the New York Times.

Among its recommendations and highlights:

Increased aid to Police and Paramilitary forces in the Caribbean to "maintain order"

A policy of non-intervention in Caribbean disputes.

Technical and financial support for Caribbean economic and political integration.

The importance of maintaining the flow of strategic materials (Bauxite is so regarded) in times of war and peace.

The importance of military facilities located through the area in the detection of Soviet submarine activity.

Why are the agents of the U.S. imperialists, enemies of all who struggle for social change and justice in Vietnam as well as Jamaica, apparently arguing for a policy of non-intervention? The Report seems to indicate that it is because they believe they can control all the black and white people of the Caribbean by other less obvious means. The Report notes that with the decline of the British, French and Dutch overlords, a vacuum exists in the Caribbean—the U.S. must now become directly involved in all those regions which it has not up to

now totally dominated, like Jamaica. It notes that emigration which has allowed 29% of the Caribbean people to leave after 1946 has virtually ceased, and that 35% of the population is between 2 and 14 years—an explosive situation.

Non-intervention is not the result of imperialist generosity. It is based on renewed confidence in the control and elimination of all revolutionary and reformist movements in the area. This confidence in these new techniques of control makes them bold enough to enunciate a "non-intervention" doctrine. Also, it would be convenient if the U.S. could not answer a call of assistance from Duvalier in the event of his overthrow by U.S. trained insurgents.

These are two ways in which indirect control is to be brought about, as the Report makes clear:

The strengthening of the repressive forces of the governments of the area. The Report urges that this is best done through the police and paramilitary, rather than the Army. This policy is already in implementation. Under the aegis of the Office of Public Safety of the AID, security police and informer networks are improved, as well as an increase in police terrorism and political arrests. This programme is already widely in use in the independent States of Africa to help governments control revolutionaries.

The "integrated Caribbean" policy. This is in the process of implementation. In the first stage, the Spanish, Dutch, English,

and French Caribbean are encouraged in "economic integration" under American auspices, a programme in which the Caribbean people benefit very little, but which increases the dependence of our countries on the financial support and aid of the U.S. and increases their power to control and manipulate the governments of the Caribbean, through "Development Banks" and the like. The second stage is likely to involve the coordination of defense and security systems in the region, very possibly linking control to U.S. commands. The New York Times does not mention this second stage in its account, but a similar control system, The Central American Defense Council, which integrates Central America on the military level, is the clear precedent for this type of policy. Each "Free Trade Area" will have its military or "unfree" counterpart, if all revolutionary people do not unite in exposing this imperialist manoeuvre.

There seems to be little doubt that non-intervention policies cannot be forgotten in many of the Caribbean countries with strategic materials or military bases, like Jamaica or Trinidad. Also, when the revolutionary situation has reached an advanced stage, U.S. officials will not be so foolish as to put their hopes on an already over-extended police force. Intervention—especially multilateral intervention, must remain an ever present possibility which revolutionaries must consider seriously in their struggle for freedom.

WORKING CLASS TRAITORS

I have read all your articles and they are very interesting. You are the only paper that has had the pluck to speak out openly for the oppressed people of this island. In my opinion you should dedicate yourself to exposing the disadvantages taken of the working class so that the public can read for themselves how the employers of certain enterprises abuse their employees in accordance with the backing of the reactionary politically affiliated unions the BITU, TUC, and the NWU. No union can do any good for the workers so long as they are affiliated to unions whose leaders aspire to political positions under the capitalist system as it exists in this country or any other country on a whole.

BUS WORKERS STRIKE

Let us take for example the recent strike of Jamaica Omnibus Workers. The workers went on strike for the removal of

an official who in six weeks after being promoted dismissed forty workers, some for trivial causes, others to show that he is the "boss". The unions did nothing and said nothing in favour of the workers yet when the workers could not tolerate the situation any longer they decided to stage a strike.

UNIONS SELL OUT

The NWU and the BITU along with some agents of the company dismissed an employee who turned out to be the President of the newly formed union which the workers formed for themselves to represent their interest after wearying of the sell-out policies of the NWU and BITU. Together with the Ministry of Labour these unions manoeuvred to block the workers from having a union of their own. They then ordered the workers back to work without them getting guarantee of relieving the said dictator official of his powers. Owing to the confus-

ion engendered by these notorious unions among the workers the JOSWA had to fall in line, owing to the fact that their recognition was being blocked by the Ministry of Labour and the said unions.

The only promise offered was to set up a tribunal of enquiry to go into the affair which from experience may take many months. During that time they will have sufficient time to dismiss the more militant workers.

Now it is time for the workers of this country to unite and rid themselves of these traitors to the working class. They must come together to form one union with different categories to represent them all for one and one for all. Working men with honest ideas must be selected as their leaders in the respective industries so they can rid themselves of these parasites who are using them in order to get political jobs.

BIRTH CONTROL: PLANNED UNEMPLOYMENT

Ras Israel
Buff Bay

I have seen a few films about Family Planning at Charles Town School here in Portland. I can see plainly where they want to stop the growth of the population here in Jamaica because they claim that unemployment is too great in this island and by stopping the growth more people will get more employment. "This sounds good but may I ask these people, do you realise what you're planning? You claim that the population is too big to maintain, but will the stopping of birth or controlling of birth as you call it, help this present population, seeing that birth control is for people who have not appeared on the scene as yet?"

PLAN FOR WORK

I think you should plan for more employment and schooling for this genera-

tion that is suffering than to stop the birth of the people who are to come and take our place as skilled and professional people.

I was talking to a man who is a supporter of the system, and he told me that Jamaica badly needed Family Planning because the people are mostly poor and the government cannot support them with work because the population here is too big. I said to him that the government is not at all interested in us the poorer people of this country. He asked me who is the government of this country. I explained to him that I was talking to him about those who represent us as the government. He said to me how can these Heads of Government know how many people are unemployed. I told him that they can do it in a similar manner as they are doing this Family Planning because they will soon find out how many people take the Planning measures to stop birth.

I told him that this Plan was a foolish one since for over two years I have been

unemployed and I go everywhere possible to get a good job and all now I am still unemployed although I went to the Government Employment Bureau I never get a call to work. He asked me what type of trade-man I was and I told him. He said because I don't have any diploma to show that I am a contractor that is why I can't get work. I asked him if the contractor don't use workmen, he said yes. I then asked what about me. He said no one from the Bureau is responsible for that, it will have to be my luck to find one of these contractors to employ me.

I and my girl was living together only two of us and because of unemployment we had to part and this happens to many other people without a family, does this need Family Planning?

Women, beware, think twice before you take birth control because our Government can do more to help our needs but they want to take us for a ride after we have worked so hard for them they are now planning to kill us out.

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Place - FEDERAL THEATRE, GRANGE HILL

Date - Sunday 8th, JUNE 1969

Time - 1 p.m.

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